

**A STUDY OF PEACEBUILDING AND
RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS IN THE
POST- WAR ERA IN SRI LANKA**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgement	ii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiv
List of Abbreviations	xv
Abstrak	xviii
Abstract	xx

CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Civil War in Sri Lanka: A Military Solutions	7
1.3	Literature Review	10
	1.3.1 Peacebuilding	10
	1.3.2 Post war Reconstruction	18
	1.3.3 Earlier Studies on Post war Reconstruction and Post War Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka	23
1.4	Problem Statement of the Study	24
1.5	Research Questions of the Study	28
1.6	Objectives of the Study	28
1.7	Methodological Framework of the Study	29
	1.7.1 Data and Collection of Data	29
	1.7.1 (a) Sampling	29
	1.7.2 Analysis of Data	33
1.8	Limitations of the Study	34
1.9	Chapter Outlines of the Study	35

CHAPTER 2–THE THEORIES AND CONCEPTS OF PEACEBUILDING AND RECONSTRUCTION

2.1	Introduction	38
2.2	Post Conflict Peacebuilding and Post war Peacebuilding	39
2.3	The UN Notion of Post Conflict Peacebuilding	42
2.4	Theory of Post – Settlement Peacebuilding	55
2.5	Utstein Model of Peacebuilding Palette	58
2.6	OECD – Conflict Prevention and Post Conflict Peacebuilding Model	61
2.7	Reconciliation and Transitional Justice as a Tool of Post Conflict Peacebuilding	64
2.8	Post - war Reconstruction	72
2.9	The Proposed Framework for Post Conflict Peacebuilding and Post War Reconstruction of This Study	76
2.10	Conclusion	104

CHAPTER 3 - THE CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA AND THE FAILURES OF THE PEACE PROCESS

3.1	Introduction	107
3.2	The Root Causes for the Polarization of Sinhalese and Tamil Relations in Sri Lanka	107
3.2.1	Issue of Language Recognition in 1956	110
3.2.2	Seeking Regional Autonomy in the 1950s	113
3.2.3	Issue of State Employment	115
3.2.4	Government Policy on University Admissions in the 1970s	118
3.2.5	Agricultural Investments and Colonization Projects in the East -1930s to 1980s	121
3.2.6	Economic Liberalization Policy and the Failure of Democracy from 1977....	123

3.2.7	Potentials for Development of Ethnic Tension in the Early 1980s	124
3.3	The Emergence of the Tamil Militant Movements in Sri Lanka	126
3.4	The Escalation of the LTTE's Violent Activities	128
3.5	Escalation of the Civil War in Sri Lanka	135
3.6	The Peace Negotiations During the Civil War (1984 – 1993)	142
3.6.1	Cross Party Selecting Committee (1991-1993)	147
3.6.2	The Peace Negotiation Process (1994- 2002)	148
3.6.3	Norwegian – Facilitated Peace Process (February 2002 to January 2008)	149
3.6.4	The Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure (2005)	153
3.6.5	Resumption of Peace Talks (2005-2006)	155
3.7	Conclusion	156

CHAPTER 4 –THE GOVERNMENT'S WORK ON POST -WAR RECONSTRUCTION

4.1	Introduction	161
4.2	Post-war Reconstruction on Humanitarian Relief and Physical Recovery	162
4.2.1	Resettlement	164
4.2.1(a)	De-mining for Resettlement	166
4.2.1(b)	Resettlement of IDPs in their Original Lands	172
4.2.1(C)	Returning Refugees from India	176
4.2.1(d)	Supplying the Basic Needs	178
4.2.1(e)	Shelters for Returning IDPs	178
4.2.1(f)	Providing Permanent houses	179
4.2.1(g)	Sanitation and Drinking water	182
4.2.1(h)	Restoration of Livelihood	183

4.2.2	Reconstruction and Development of Socio-Economic Sectors	187
4.2.2(a)	Improving Social and Economic Infrastructure	188
4.2.2(b)	Enhancing Health Facilities	188
4.2.2(c)	Enhancing Education Facilities	190
4.2.2(d)	Reconstruction of Irrigation Network	191
4.2.2(e)	Reconstruction of Roads and Bridges	192
4.2.2(f)	Reconstruction of the Northern Railway Network	194
4.2.2(g)	Reconstruction of Electricity Grid and Sub Stations	195
4.2.2(h)	Implementing New Development Projects in the North and the East.	197
4.2.2(i)	Rehabilitation of the KKS Harbour	198
4.2.2(j)	Palali Airport Runway Development Project	199
4.2.2(k)	Trincomalee Port Development Project	199
4.2.2(l)	Oruvil Port Development Project	200
4.2.2(m)	Coal Power Plant Project in Sampur – Trincomalee.	200
4.2.2(n)	Development of Tourism in the East	200
4.2.2(o)	Re-establishment of Banking and Financial Institutions	201
4.2.2(p)	Restoration of Industries in the North and the East.	201
4.2.2(q)	Renovation and Rehabilitation of the Religious Places	204
4.2.2 (r)	Restoration of Administration	204
4.3	Activities for Socio – Political Reconstruction for Reconciliation	205
4.3.1	Rehabilitation and Reintegration	205
4.3.1(a)	Rehabilitation of Ex- LTTE cadres.	206

4.3.2 Political Consensus.	210
4.3.2(a) De-Merger of the North- East Provinces	212
4.3.2(b) Conducting Elections in the North and the East	213
4.3.3 Transitional Justice	215
4.3.3 (a) The Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC)	216
4.3.3 (b) The Census on Human and Property Damage due to Conflicts	218
4.3.3 (c) The Presidential Commission of Alleged Abductions or Disappearances of Persons.	219
4.3.3 (d) Work for National Reconciliation in Sri Lanka	219
4.4 Conclusion	221

CHAPTER 5- ANALYSIS OF POST-WAR HUMANITARIAN AND PHYSICAL RECONSTRUCTION

5.1 Introduction	223
5.2 Resettlement	224
5.2.1 De-mining for Resettlement	225
5.2.2 Resettlement of IDPs in their Original Lands	232
5.2.3 Supplying basic needs to the Resettled Families	242
5.2.4 Sanitation and Drinking Water	246
5.2.5 Restoration of Livelihoods	247
5.2.6 Returning Refugees from India	256
5.3 Reconstruction and Development of the Socio-Economic Sectors	258
5.3.1 Enhancing Social and Economic Infrastructures	258
5.3.1(a) Health and Education sectors	259
5.3.1(b) Reconstruction of Roads and Bridges	262
5.3.1(c) The Railway Network in the Northern Province	265

5.3.1(d) Implementing New Economic Development Projects	266
5.4 Theory and Practice on Resettlement and Development	272
5.5 Conclusion	280

CHAPTER 6 - ANALYSIS OF POST-WAR SOCIO-POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

6.1 Introduction	283
6.2 Rehabilitation and Reintegration	284
6.3 Political Consensus	292
6.3.1 Restarting Negotiations with the Tamil Political Parties on issues Relating to Power Sharing	292
6.3.2 Conducting Elections and Restoring Democratic Institutions in the N/E	299
6.4 Transitional Justice	306
6.5 Theory and Practice of Post-war Socio-Political Reconstruction	313
6.5.1 Theory and Practice on Rehabilitation and Reintegration	313
6.5.2 Theory and Practice on Political Consensus	315
6.5.3 Theory and Practice on Transitional Justice	320
6.6 Theory and Practice of Post-War Reconstruction	322
6.7 Conclusion	324

CHAPTER 7- CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

7.1 Introduction	327
7.2 Post-conflict Peacebuilding and Post-war Reconstruction initiatives	330
7.3 Benefits Resulting from the Government Initiatives	333
7.4 Addressing the Root Causes of the Conflict and Contributing to build a better future with Long Lasting Peace in the Country	339
7.5 Directions for Future Research	341

7.6	Conclusion	342
	Bibliography	345
	Appendices	

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 2.1 Expansion of Key Areas of the UN Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Action Plan in the 1990s	44
Table 2.2 Development of the UN Theory on Post-Conflict Peacebuilding	53
Table 2.3 Post – Settlement Peacebuilding: A Framework	56
Table 2.4 From Negative to Positive Peace, via Justice	69
Table 2.5 Origin, Nature and the Current Status of Selected Protracted Civil Conflicts	96
Table 2.6 Proposed Frame work of Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Process in the Post-war Era in Sri Lanka	103
Table 3.1 Ethnic Distribution in the Higher State Services 1946- 1975 (%)	117
Table 3.2 University Enrolment of Tamil Students in Science Courses from 1972 to 1974	119
Table 3.3 The Peace Negotiations in Sri Lanka (from 1995 to 2008)	159
Table 4.1 Summary of the De-mining Programme of the Government	169
Table 4.2 IDP Families Resettled - Northern Province	173
Table 4.3 IDP Families Resettled - Eastern Province	173
Table 4.4 IDPs to be Resettled in the Northern and the Eastern Provinces	174

Table 4.5	Permanent Housing Projects in the North and the East.	180
Table 4.6	The Macro Industries Situated in the North and the East.	202
Table 4.7	Details of the Surrendered ex- LTTE Combatants	209
Table 5.1	Contribution to the GDP (%) from the Northern and the Eastern Provinces for the Period 2009-2013.	270
Table 5.2	Provincial GDP by Industrial Origin 2009-2013	270

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 2.1 Utstein Model of Peacebuilding Palette	60
Figure 2.2 Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Model of OECD	63
Figure 2.3 Lederach's 'The Place Called Reconciliation'	66
Figure 2.4 Proposed Process of Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Process in Sri Lanka	104
Figure 4.1 De-mining Progress in Former War Zones in Sri Lanka	170
Figure 4.2 Mines affected areas in the Northern Province in 2009	171
Figure 4.3 Demining Status in the Northern Province at end of March 2013	171
Figure 4.4 Arrival of the Sri Lankan Refugees from India	177
Figure 4.5 Commitments for the Construction of Permanent Houses Northern Province	181
Figure 4.6 Distribution of Indian Housing Units among the Districts of the Northern Province	181
Figure 4.7 The Process of Reconstruction and Development of Socio-Economic sector	188
Figure 4.8 The Electrification Level of the Northern Province in 2009 (as at end of the war)	196
Figure 5.1 Land Cleared of Mines and Remaining Areas to be Cleared	227
Figure 5.2 Civilian Casualty Trend	229

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BDA	Bangsamoro Development Agency
BOI	Board of Investment
CFA	Cease Fire Agreement
DDC	District Development Council
DDR	Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration
EPRLF	Elam Peoples Revolution Liberation Front
EU	European Union
FAO	FAO- Food and Agriculture organization
GAM	The Free Aceh Movement
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
HDU	Humanitarian De-mining Unit
HSZs	High Security Zones
ICRC	International Committee for Red Cross
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture Development
INGOs	International Non Governmental organizations
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency

JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
KKS	Kankasanthurai
LLRC	Lesson Learnt and Reconciliation Commission
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
MEP	Mahajana Eksath Pramuna
MNLF	Mindanao National Liberation Front
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEHRP	North East Housing Reconstruction Project
NEPC	North East Provincial Council
NGOs	NGOs- Non Governmental organizations
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PA	Peoples Alliance
PARC	Protection Accommodation and Rehabilitation Centre
PBC	Peace Building Commission
PSC	Parliamentary Select Committee
PTF	Presidential Task Force
P-TOMS	Post Tsunami Operational Management Structure
SEZs	Special Economic Zones
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SLMM	Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
SLR	Sri Lanka Army
TRC	TRC- Truth and Reconciliation Commission

TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural organization
UNF	United National Front
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNP	United National Party
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
UPFA	United People Freedom Alliance

KAJIAN PROSES PEMBINAAN PERDAMAIAN DAN REKONSTRUKSI ERA PASCA- PERANG DI SRI LANKA

ABSTRAK

Era pasca-LTTE dan pasca-peperangan di Sri Lanka menimbulkan satu situasi di mana pemerintah tidak mempunyai sebarang pembangkang yang boleh menentang atau mempengaruhi aktiviti-aktiviti rekonstruksi pembinaan perdamaian selepas peperangan. Kajian ini mengkaji proses pembinaan perdamaian selepas perang yang berlaku dalam era rejim Presiden Rajapaksa untuk meneroka impaknya ke atas perdamaian lestari dalam negara ini. Kajian ini cuba menjawab tiga persoalan: Apakah inisiatif-inisiatif pembinaan semula dan pembinaan perdamaian kerajaan pasca-perang? Apakah manfaat-inisiatif ini dan siapakah penerima faedahnya? Adakah inisiatif-inisiatif tersebut mampu menangani punca konflik dan mencapai kejayaan dalam membina perdamaian yang berpanjangan? Untuk menyempurnakan tugas ini, kajian menggunakan kaedah kualitatif dengan menggunakan sumber-sumber primer data seperti temuramah dengan mereka yang terlibat, pembuat dasar, pelaksana dan aktor-aktor bebas selain melawat juga sumber sekunder seperti laporan-laporan kerajaan dan bukan-kerajaan dan dokumen-dokumen untuk tujuan analisis kandungan dan sorotan kronologi. Kerangka kerja teoretikal yang dicadangkan mengenalpasti aspek-aspek utama berikut sebagai penting untuk pembinaan perdamaian di Sri Lanka: penempatan semula, pembangunan dan perkembangan semula, pemulihan dan pergabungan semula, persetujuan politik, dan keadilan transisional. Dapatan kajian adalah seperti berikut: walaupun kerajaan telah melaksanakan kerja-kerja penempatan semula dan pembinaan fizikal yang signifikan bertujuan untuk memulihkan dan membangunkan

kawasan-kawasan yang terjejas dalam peperangan, isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan pemulangan semula tanah kepada pemilik asal, serta kurangnya peluang untuk menyara hidup dan pembangunan yang bersifat asimetrik membayangkan prospek buruk untuk meraih perdamaian yang berkekalan. Dalam aspek persetujuan politik dan keadilan transisional, kerajaan gagal melaksanakan satu program reformasi sosio-politik yang berkesan dalam memastikan keadilan tercapai dan perdamaian dapat dikecapi, dan ini telah menjejaskan semangat untuk meneruskan proses pembiraan perdamaian. Kajian ini mencadangkan aplikasi secara memastikan beberapa perubahan sosio-politik transisional yang boleh menangani masalah-masalah kumpulan minoriti untuk membina perdamaian yang berkekalan di negara ini.

Kata-Kunci: *Sri Lanka, Pembinaan perdamaian pasca-konflik, Pembinaan semula pasca-peperangan, Penempatan semula, Pembangunan, Pemulihan, Persetujuan politik, Keadilan Transisi, Perdamaian, Keadilan Lestari*

A STUDY OF PEACEBUILDING AND RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS IN THE POST-WAR ERA IN SRI LANKA

ABSTRACT

The post-LTTE and post-war situation left the Sri Lankan government with no credible opposition to challenge or influence the post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding activities. This study examines the process of post-war peacebuilding that took place during the period of President Rajapaksa's regime to explore its impact on sustainable peace in the country. The research tries to answer three questions: What were the government's post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding initiatives? What exactly were the benefits and who were the beneficiaries? Were these initiatives able to address the root causes of the conflict and achieve success in building a long lasting peace? To accomplish this task, the study uses the qualitative method of using primary sources of data such as interviews with the affected people, policy makers, implementers and independent actors along with secondary sources such as governmental as well as non-governmental reports and documents for content analysis and chronological reviews. The proposed theoretical framework identifies the following key areas as crucial for peacebuilding in Sri Lanka: resettlement, reconstruction and development, rehabilitation and reintegration, political consensus, and transitional justice. The findings of the study are as follows: even though the government implemented significant works of resettlement and physical reconstruction aimed at the recovery and development of war affected areas, the issues related to restoration of lands to the original owners, lack of livelihood opportunities and the asymmetrical nature of development indicated bad prospects for long lasting peace. In the areas of political consensus and transitional justice, the

government failed to implement an effective program of socio-political reforms in order to ensure justice and achieve reconciliation and this had badly affected the spirit of the peacebuilding process. The study suggests that a wide range of transitional socio-political reforms addressing the grievances of minorities should be applied in order to build a long lasting peace in the country.

Key words: *Sri Lanka, Post-conflict Peacebuilding, Post-war Reconstruction, Resettlement, Development, Rehabilitation, Political Consensus, Transitional Justice, Reconciliation, Sustainable Peace*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

After a prolonged civil and military conflict, a civil war which lasted for 26 years, the Sri Lankan army finally overran the forces of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in May 2009. For the first time in many years this freed the Northern and Eastern part of the country from the grip of the LTTE. The complete defeat of the LTTE also brought the issue of a separate Tamil homeland to a temporary suspension and instead the issue of post war reconstruction and peacebuilding came to the fore.

The literature on post war peace building and reconstruction have emphasised peace building and post war reconstruction as important and urgent for countries which faced long term civil war.¹ It has also been seen that the first few post war years are of critical importance in terms of establishment of long term peace. How the political or other agencies which included the government itself, initiate, implement and bring a perceptible change in the post war societies is an immensely significant issue. In the case of Sri Lanka the issue cannot be overemphasised given the long years of the conflict and the intensity with which the two sides fought their causes. However the complete victory of the military forces in 2009, left the field open for the government, its leaders and agencies to implement long term peacebuilding. It is in this context that this research is undertaken to critically locate the efforts of the government in Sri Lanka in the context of theoretical work on post conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction and see the efficacy of the Sri Lankan case.

¹ United Nations , *Report of the Secretary General on peace building in the immediate aftermath of conflict*(New York: United Nations, 2009) <http://www.unrol.org> [Accessed 13 April 2013]

Sri Lanka, formally known as “Ceylon” during the colonial period, is located in the South Asian region. The country was granted independence from the British colonial rule in 1948. According to the government census in 2012 the total population is 20,263,723.² As a multi ethnic country, the population is differentiated along ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional lines. The recent census reveals the majority Sinhalese making up 74.9% of the total population. With the rest being divide into Sri Lankan Tamil 11.2%, Indian Tamil 4.2%, Sri Lankan Moor 9.2%, Burgher 0.2% and Malay 0.2%.³ The Sri Lankan Tamils (Tamil) consists of just over 2.2 million⁴ who inhabit mostly the Northern Province and with also a significant numbers in the Eastern province in Sri Lanka. They speak Tamil and are predominantly Hindus. Over the years, the Sri Lankan Tamils have come to be identified as the “Jaffna Tamils.”⁵ They came to be regarded as a distinct community- different from the Tamil speaking communities, Tamil speaking Muslims or the Colombo Chetty. ⁶ The Tamils of Indian origins, have on the other hand, evolved their own separate political life, organization and activities, in the process of their almost century long struggle to secure a decent human life and basic political rights.

The Tamils, being the first community to take to English education, began to enjoy certain advantages, educational, employment and consequently political,

² Department of census and statistics, *Sri Lanka census of population and housing* (Colombo: Department of census and statistics, 2012) <[http:// www.statistics.gov.lk](http://www.statistics.gov.lk)>

³ *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.2 . According to the census in 2012 the total population of Sri Lankan Tamil is 2,270,924.

⁵ see, S.J.Tambiah, *Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy*. (London: University of Chicago, 1986) p. 4; N. Wickramasinghe, *Sri Lanka in the Modern Age: A History of Contested identities*. (London: C,Hurst&co) p. 254; “Ceylon Tamils” in <[www. ceylontamils.com/home.php](http://www.ceylontamils.com/home.php)>

⁶ South Indian Tamils, who are South Indian labourers brought by the British from 1825 onwards to work on the coffee and tea plantations and established in the central highlands. A small amount of them were repatriated to India under ‘Sirima - Shastri pact in 1964 and majorities were granted citizenship in Sri Lanka in 1964 and 1977. See, K.M.De Silva, *Reaping the Whirlwind, Ethnic Conflict, Ethnic Politics in Sri Lanka*. (New Delhi: Penguin, 1998) pp. 272-296.

during the British colonial period.⁷The changing political contours of the Sri Lankan society during the last hundred and fifty years, have however, significantly changed the situation. Democratisation in Sri Lanka did not move ahead with the commensurate guarantees for its leading minority, the Tamils. The increasing centralisation of powers and various state policies to favour the underprivileged Sinhala Majority have increasingly created a skewed system where the Tamils and particularly the Jaffna Tamils began to lose grounds and also hope.⁸ The march of democracy in Sri Lanka also witnessed an increasing resort to identity politics where religion and ethnicity came to define the public spaces. This created highly polarized polity and contributed in making unbridgeable the political differences between the Sinhala Majoritarian discourse and the Tamil Minority discourse. It is here that the idea of a separate Tamil homeland in the northern and eastern part of the country took shape by the eighties of the twentieth century.

The demand for a separate country (Elam) has been articulated most vociferously and militantly by the LTTE. The latter also eliminated by using all means at its disposal all other political groups among the Tamils who could have played any mediatory role. The internal politics in the Sinhala majority population and the hardening of stance among its most vociferous groups led to the widening chasm between the Tamil minority and Sinhala majority voices. One could see a point of no return developing notwithstanding serious efforts to mediate the groups and parties. There were serious international negotiation and mediation by the Norwegian and Indian governments. But situation went from bad to worse. This growing hopelessness of the political situation also went hand in hand with the

⁷C.R.De Silva, "Sinhala Tamil Ethnic Rivalry." In *From Independent to Statehood*, ed. R.B. Goldman, and A.J.Wilson, (London: Frances Printer, 1984)

⁸ See. K.M.De Silva, (1998) *Op.cit.*

increase in the level of violence. At the end of 26 years of civil war in Sri Lanka approximately 80,000 -100,000 people have been killed.⁹ According to the reports, nearly 470,000 people were displaced during various stages of the war.¹⁰ The internally displaced persons (IDPs) included 295,136 who could not go back to their own places in the final stages of the war.¹¹ It has been estimated that there are 1.3 million land mines in over 640 villages in the conflict affected areas.¹² The economic cost of the civil war was estimated to be more than US \$ 250 billion.¹³ Furthermore, Sri Lanka which is known in the fifties for its robust institutions which had sustained a healthy democracy, stood at the end of the twentieth century bereft of not only that robustness but also ended up as a deeply eroded democracy.

With the understanding that rebuilding the war torn country and particularly the war zone which have been devastated requires enormous level of commitment and hard work, the President of Sri Lanka, Mahinda Rajapaksha addressing the parliament on 19 May 2009 declared that 'Sri Lanka was liberated from terrorism'.¹⁴ He further said that it was his 'duty now to protect the Tamils and meet their political aspirations'.¹⁵ He promised to 'apply a home grown solution' (political solution made locally) in connection with ethnic issues of the country.¹⁶

⁹K.Höglund and C. Orjuela, "Winning the Peace: Conflict Prevention after a Victor's Peace in Sri Lanka." *Contemporary Social Science* 6, no. 1 (2011): pp. 19-37.

¹⁰Internal displacement monitoring centre, *Sri Lanka: A hidden displacement crisis*, (Norwegian refugee council: 31 October 2012) <http://www.internal-displacement.org> [Accessed 09 May 2013]

¹¹ Ministry of Finance and Planning in Sri Lanka ,*"Annual Report 2010."*, (Colombo: Ministry of Financeand Planning Sri Lanka. 2011)

¹²Ministry of Economic Development, *National strategy for mine action in Sri Lanka*, (Colombo: Ministry of Economic Development. 2011)

¹³"*Economic Impacts of Sri Lanka's Civil War.*"(no date) Asia Economic Institute, <http://www.asiaecon.org/special_articles/read_sp/12556> [Accessed 01 June 2013]

¹⁴ "Address to Parliament by the President on 19 May 2009 ". <<http://persident.gov.lk/speech>> [Accessed 29 April 2013]

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

The President was not off the mark as the government of Sri Lanka (government) had already commenced reconstruction and development programmes in war affected areas. The government reports point out that the government placed highest priority on accelerating the development of the conflict affected areas and wanted to improve living condition of the people of those areas. This has significant bearing on the national reconciliation process.¹⁷ The government initiated two multi-pronged regional development strategies, (i) Negenahira Navodaya (Re-Awaking East) in 2007.¹⁸ (ii) Uthuru Wasanthaya (North Spring). These two multi purposes projects are aimed at ensuring the welfare of IDP's, demining activities, resettlement and rehabilitation, and reconstruction and development of the affected areas. The President appointed a special authority, "Presidential task force for resettlement, development and security for North province" to carry out the North development programme.¹⁹

One of the most significant features of the post conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction process is the deliberate policy to keep the core of the whole exercise to be within the government. Although, several foreign governments and international organizations have been assisting the government for resettlement and development in war torn areas in North and Eastern parts, no outside agency, governmental or Non-Governmental, was allowed to intervene into the core area of policy planning and work. Many organisations which included the governments of Japan, China, India, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, and multinational

¹⁷ Ministry of Finance and Planning in Sri Lanka (2010) *Op.cit.*

¹⁸ Negenahira Navodaya programme was initiated earlier, as the eastern province was liberated from the LTTE control in July 2007.

¹⁹ A 19 member Presidential Task Force was appointed by the president . It mandates to prepare strategic plans , programmes and projects to resettle the IDP's , rehabilitate and develop economic and social infrastructure of the Northern province. See, <<http://www.defence.gov.lk>>

organizations like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations agencies, such as United Nations Development programme (UNDP), United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP), the European Union (EU), and the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) have come in with their support. Further, there are several local and foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) assisting the government in connection with the peace building and reconstruction process in Sri Lanka.²⁰ The government, however, has been steadfast in its conviction that the efforts have to be indigenous.

The government, careful about the demand and the need for political solution, decided to introduce political reforms for solving the ethnic issues of the country. A Parliamentary Select Committee, it was announced, would be created with the members from different political parties of the Sri Lanka. One of the senior Ministers and an advisor to the President, Mr. Basil Rajapaksha reflected the government's thinking when he told the Japanese special envoy Mr. Yasushi Akashi in Colombo that:

Parliament select committee is the best way to find a political solution to the national problem of Sri Lanka. Such a committee will be represented by the government and opposition parties with the people's mandate and recommendation of such a committee will be acceptable to all communities.²¹

President Rajapaksha's government ended in January 2015, as he was defeated by the Presidential election held in second tenure of his office and a new President sworn out on 9th of January 2015. During his regime, President Rajapaksha implemented a number of strategies on reconstruction and peacebuilding in order to create a long lasting peace in the war affected provinces as well as in the country.

²⁰Ministry of Finance and Planning in Sri Lanka (2011) *Op.cit.*

²¹Basil Rajapaksha, "Parliamentary Select Committee Is the Best Way to Find a Political Solution." Ministry of Economic Development, <www.med.gov.lk/english/?p=13122>[Accessed on 15 June 2013]

To sum up, one could see that the 26 years long war, created by the increasing polarisation of the political space and of the political voices, ended with the victory of the Sri Lankan forces. The closure of the war was soon followed by the reconstruction and peacebuilding work by the government. This study tries to enquire into the nature and patterns of these reconstruction and peacebuilding efforts in the post war situation and determine whether the efforts are contributing to the creation of a sustainable positive peace in Sri Lanka.

1.2 Civil War in Sri Lanka: A Military Solution

Civil wars usually ended with a ceasefire or peace agreement followed by negotiations between the conflict parties.²² However, the civil war in Sri Lanka ended in 2009 with a military solution in what is reported as an exclusive situation in recent history. The lessons of past errors and experiences of war stress to avoid another war and build a long lasting post war peace in Sri Lanka. Further, the past lessons stress the urge for a suitable political construction for address issues of separatism in Sri Lanka.

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka emerged in the post independent period with the increasing polarization of Sinhalese and Tamil identities into almost warring camps.²³ As we have discussed, the policies of the post independent Sinhala majority governments have worked to the detriment of the political, economic and educational interests of the Tamil minority. The early moderate and liberal protestations failed to elicit proper and early response making the political field ready for the more radical

²² See O.Ramsbotham T. Woodhouse, and H. Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution : The Prevention, Management, and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. 3 rd ed. (Malden,MA: Polity Press, 2011) pp. 172-173

²³ See K.M.De Silva, (1986) *Op. cit.*

and militant groups. The Tamil militant organizations emerged in the beginning of 1980's to fill this void and the most prominent of those militant groups was the LTTE which was developed as a unique militant organization fighting for "Tamil Elam."²⁴ The armed struggle of the LTTE for separate Tamil state initially carried out a campaign of violence against the state, but it was gradually developed into a civil war with Sri Lankan forces. Since then, the LTTE attacked the Sinhalese and the Muslims in the North and the East provinces and banished them from their native areas. The politicians, public servants, civilians, Buddhist temples, Mosques, economical hubs and public places were occasionally targeted by the LTTE.²⁵ They controlled and established their own rule throughout the North and the East regions by the 1990's. The Sri Lankan military forces launched their operations and the civil war spread out destructively in those regions causing heavy human and economic cost to the country.²⁶ The Sri Lankan government as well as foreign countries carried out negotiations and peace efforts to achieve a peaceful solutions to the war and find a political solution to the problem.²⁷ The first ever peace talk between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil rebels and Tamil political parties were held in Thimpu the capital of Bhutan in July 1985.²⁸ During the "Thimpu Talks" the Tamil political parties put forward four cardinal principals as their demands. (i) recognition of the Tamils of Sri Lanka as a distinct nationality. (ii) recognition of an identified Tamil homeland and the guarantee of its territorial integrity. (iii) based on the above,

²⁴ M.Joshi, "On the Razor's Edge : The Liberation of Tamil Elam." *Studies in conflict and terrorism* 19 (1996): 19-42.

²⁵See , T.D.S.A.Dissanayake, *War or Peace in Sri Lanka*. (Mumbai: Popular prakashan, 2004);C.V.De Voorde, "Sri Lanka Terrorism: Assessing and Responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam." *Political Practice and Research: An International Journal* 6, no. 2 (2005): 181-99.

²⁶ V. R.Ragavan, K. Fischer. *Conflict Resolution and Peace Building in Sri Lanka* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 2005).

²⁷India intervened since 1985 and Norway intervened since 2000 as mediators and facilitators to the Sri Lankan conflict.

²⁸ K. Rupesinghe, *Negotiating Peace in Sri Lanka*. 2 ed. Vol. 1,(Colombo: The Foundation for Co-Existence, 2006).

recognition of the inalienable right of self determination of the Tamil nation. (iv) recognition of the right of full citizenship and other fundamental democratic rights of all Tamils, who look upon the island as their country.²⁹ India intervened in the war to bring a peaceful settlement to the conflict by signing the “Indu-Lanka peace accord” in July 1987.³⁰ In February 2000 Norway was asked to mediate by both sides and they signed a Norwegian brokered “Ceasefire agreement” (CFA) in 2002.³¹ All these attempts were not successful and resumption of hostilities returned. The LTTE was listed as a terrorist organization by 32 countries including the United States, Canada, India and member nations of the European Union due to continuous hostilities against the civilians.³² In March 2004, the LTTE was divided between its Northern and Eastern wings. The Eastern commander of the LTTE, Karuna Amman then allied himself with the government.³³

After, several continuous suicide attacks and bomb blasts aimed at the civilians by the LTTE, the Sri Lankan government withdrew from the CFA on 16th July 2008. The government troops liberated the Eastern province from the LTTE control in May 2007. Then, the government extended their military operations³⁴ to the North and the province was liberated on 18th May 2009 from LTTE control. In the final battle the Sri Lankan forces killed the leader of the LTTE and destroyed almost all its militant wings. Hoglund and Orjuela analyze the situation as follows,

“The LTTE’s many ceasefire violations and subsequent withdrawal from the peace talks impaired its international legitimacy, while a split of the

²⁹See *Ibid.*

³⁰ See S.U.Kodikara, *Indu-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 1987* (Colombo: Dept. History & Political Science, University of Colombo, 1987)

³¹ See V. R. Ragawan and K. Fischer, (2005) *Op. cit*

³² C.V. de.Voorde, "Sri Lanka Terrorism: Assessing and Responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam." *Political Practice and Research: An International Journal* 6, no. 2 (2005): 181-99.

³³Karuna Amman was a member of the cabinet of the President Rajapaksha’s government.

³⁴The government introduced the military operations to liberate north as ‘humanitarian operation against terrorism’.

organization in 2004 substantially weakened its military strength. As the ceasefire gradually fell apart, the Sri Lankan government could successfully frame its war against the LTTE as part of the international war on terrorism.”³⁵

At the end of 26 years of civil war both parties are accused of violations of human rights by the international community. As a result of the protracted war in Sri Lanka her society had faced several difficulties. In order to establish a positive peace in Sri Lanka it is necessary to implement a proper and strong post war reconstruction process in the present context.

1.3 Literature Review

The next few sections will review several important work that will be viewed as the platform to discussing this topic. They will also review important literature that will guide this study. The discussion of the relevant literature that will support the theoretical framework will be continued in chapter 2.

1.3.1 Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding and post war reconstruction are the key concepts used in this study. We shall try to define the concepts. A more detailed review on the concepts of peacebuilding and post war reconstruction will be attempted in Chapter 2. The concept of peacebuilding was popularised in the literature of conflict and peace studies from early 1990s.³⁶ In the context of a sudden increase in the intra-state conflicts soon after end of cold war in the 1990s, there were efforts to look for new approaches for sustainable peace in war torn countries.³⁷

³⁵K.Höglund, and C. Orjuela, (2011) *Op. cit.*

³⁶ See O.Ramsbotham *et al.* 2011

³⁷*Ibid.*, Chapter 9

Johan Galtung, the Norwegian peace researcher, however, had already pioneered the idea and concept of peacebuilding in early 1970s. Galtung saw peace in terms of negative peace and positive peace.³⁸ He defined negative peace as the cessation of direct violence while positive peace being the overcoming of structural violence.³⁹ He sees the possibility of achieving sustainable peace through positive peace by overcoming structural problems raised by contradiction and the attitudes. Galtung's concept of "positive peace" contributed to the further development of the concept of peace building in the field of conflict and peace studies. To him peacebuilding meant the practical implementation of peaceful social change through socio-economic reconstruction and development.⁴⁰

Following Galtung, many other scholars and peace researchers and activists, have increasingly begun to define the concept of peacebuilding, particularly in the wake of the end of the cold war. John Paul Lederach, a scholar of Christian Mennonite tradition, was one of the scholars who tried to make the concept slightly more comprehensive by saying that peacebuilding is:

"...a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus use involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct."⁴¹

³⁸ J. Galtung, "Conflict as a Way of Life." In *Progress in Mental Health*, edited by H. Freeman. London: Churchill, 1969; Galtung, J. *War and Defence: Essays in Peace Research*. Vol. 01, Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers, 1975

³⁹ J. Galtung, (1969) *Op. cit.*, p. 29; Galtung said the conflict could be viewed as a triangle, with the contradiction, attitude and behaviour and it is a dynamic process. To this end, Galtung's triangle of violence identifies three types of violence: direct violence, cultural violence and structural violence.

⁴⁰ J. Galtung, (1975) *Op. cit.*, pp. 282-304

⁴¹ J.P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997). p. 20

Lederach gives the idea of peace a broad canvas and incorporates the processes to achieve peace as part of the peacebuilding. Kamarulzaman Askandar, a scholar and practitioner of conflict and peace studies from South East Asia, while agreeing with the basic propositions of Lederach, refines it by arguing that “peace is the objective and building peace is the process”. He, being actively involved in the peacebuilding processes employs the concept in a dynamic way in a post war situation. He says :

“It is usually employed as a part of the peace process in the situations of long, destabilizing, and protracted conflict as a means of transforming the situation through the promotion of process and structures which will transform the socio-economic and political context – leading from insecurity to security and instability to stability.”⁴²

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, eminent scholars of conflict resolution, on the other hand, seem to focus more on the issue of transcending the structural problems of peacebuilding and making the concept to focus on those issues when they suggest that ,

“As the project of overcoming structural and cultural violence (conflict transformation), in conjunction with peacemaking between conflict parties (conflict settlement) and peacekeeping (conflict containment)”⁴³

They, it seem, indicate the lineage of Galtung’s idea of structural impediments to peace. However the applications of peacebuilding concept to practical field hasmade the concept more dynamic. According to a scholar’s

⁴²Kamarulzaman Askandar, Introduction: Building peace- reflections from South East Asia. In *Building peace- reflections from South East Asia* (Penang: SEACSN, 2007). p.xxviii

⁴³O. Ramsbotham, T. Woodhouse, and H. Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. 3 rd ed. (Malden, MA: Polity press, 2011). p.19

definitions, peacebuilding is a “long run process to overcome structural and cultural violence in a war torn society which transform to gain a positive peace”.⁴⁴

The concept of post conflict peacebuilding⁴⁵, in the meantime, was popularised by the United Nations (UN). Since 1990s the UN began to get seriously engaged with post conflict peacebuilding and the UN had commitments to engage in this. It was the publication in 1992 of Boutros Boutros Ghali’s “Agenda for Peace”, that saw the concept of “post conflict peace building” being popularised in the conflict and peace vocabulary.⁴⁶ Boutros Ghali defined post conflict peace building as,

“...an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse in to conflict.”⁴⁷

He points out that post war peace building is further an extension of prevailing UN peace strategies (preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping)⁴⁸ and post conflict peace building is supported by re building the institutions, and infrastructures of nation torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formally at war and encourages to fulfil these aims with the cooperation of regional organizations.⁴⁹

⁴⁴Alpazam reviews the theoretical important of peacebuilding. See Alpazam Ozerdem, *Consolidating Peace After War: Challenges of Reconstruction and Peacebuilding*. (Responding to Conflict, 2007). p 21

⁴⁵Some scholars define the concept of post war peacebuilding as post conflict peacebuilding. These two terms will be broadly discuss in the chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, “*An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, and Peacekeeping*.” Adopted by the summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992 (New York: United Nations, 1992).

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, para 21

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, para 21

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, para 15

In 1995, *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace* further clarifies the concept of post conflict peace building.⁵⁰ The report lists the tasks on post conflict peace building.

“The validity of the concept of post conflict peace building has received wide recognition. The measures it can use – and they are many – can also support preventive diplomacy. Demilitarization, the control of small arms, institutional reforms, improved police and judicial system, the monitoring of human rights, electoral reforms and social and economic development can be as in preventing conflict as in healing the wounds of the conflict has occurred.”⁵¹

The scope of post conflict peace building is widening to include the political, economic, social and psychological aspects of activities in following years. For example, *An Agenda for Development* (1994), *The UNDP Report on Human Security* (1994), and *An Agenda for Democratization* (1996), all these UN documents contribute to enhance the quality of post conflict peacebuilding.

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, identifies the most important tasks which fulfil to achieve sustainable positive peace for successful peace building.

According to the Secretary General report,

“...encouraging reconciliation and demonstrating respect for human rights; fostering political inclusiveness and promoting national unity; ensuring the safe; smooth and early repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons; reintegrating ex-combats and the others in productive society; curtailing the availability of small arms; mobilising the domestic and international resources for reconstruction and economy recovery; providing

⁵⁰ United Nations, “*Supplement to An Agenda for peace*”, position paper of the Secretary General on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the UN. (A/50/60-S/1995/1), (New York: United Nations, 1995) http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/50/pleanary/a_50-60.htm. [Accessed 19 April]

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, para 47

for reintegration and rehabilitation programmes; and creating condition for resumed development”.⁵²

According to these reports, the UN post conflict peace building aims at security, development, democratization and human rights.⁵³ However, this was the time for a review of the UN peacebuilding efforts in places like Somalia, Rwanda, and former Yugoslavia in 1990’s, made the way to reveal several reports, proposals and conducting investigations by the UN. The complicated situation compelled them to seek new strategies for UN peacebuilding. “Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations”, the so called *Brahimi report* was published in 2000. This report reviews the UN peacebuilding programme in 1990’s and stresses necessary alternative strategies for sustainable peace on post conflict societies.⁵⁴ The *Brahimi Report* defines post conflict peace building as,

“...activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on these foundations something that is more than just the absence of war.”⁵⁵

The UN identifies four important steps which will support to develop structures to create sustainable peace in war torn societies. First, it consists of demobilization of soldiers and refugees, demining, emergency relief, food aid, economic rehabilitation and repairs the infrastructures. The second step denotes involving long term political, economic and social provisions to address the root causes of conflict which is a strategy to transform a society from war torn. The third

⁵² United Nations, “ *Implementation of recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary general on the causes of conflict and promotions of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa*”. (New York: United Nations, 1998). <<http://www.un.org/africa/osaa/reports/2010>> [Accessed 01 June 2013]

⁵³ V. Chetail, "Post Conflict Peacebuilding." In *Lexique De La Consolidation De La Paix*, edited by V. Chetail, 29-70 (Bruylant, 2009) <<http://www.ssrn.com/abstract=1645183>> [Accessed 20 April 2013]

⁵⁴ United Nations, *Report of the panel on United Nations peace operations*. (A/55/305/S/2000/809), (New York: United Nations, 2000) <<http://www.unrol.org/doc.>> [Accessed 20 May]

⁵⁵ United Nations, *UN peace building : An orientation*, (New York: United Nations Peace building Support office, 2010) <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding_orientation.pdf> [Accessed 25 May 2013]

step defines the interdependent quality and the consequent importance of coordination. The fourth step is the circle of preventive peacebuilding.⁵⁶ This aims for civil society reconciliation, fair courts and electoral process that enable a society to resolve its conflict.

The UN peacebuilding approach is based on liberal democratic values which are encouraging to build a liberal international order.⁵⁷ In other words, the UN agendas of interventions for peacebuilding focus on democratization and liberal free market economy. According to Roland Paris:

“The central tenet of this paradigm is the assumption that the surest foundation for peace.....is market democracy, that is a liberal domestic polity and a market-oriented economy. Peacebuilding is in effect an enormous experiment that involves transplanting western models of social, political and economic organization into war-shattered states in order to control civil conflict: in other words, pacification through political and economic liberalization.”⁵⁸

Instead of Cosmopolitan peacebuilding headed by international actors, an alternative model of peacebuilding based on local actors and organizations was created in late 1990's with rethinking of the scholar – practitioners in the conflict resolution field. John Paul Lederach discerns the importance of local peace makers and to empower indigenous people in war torn societies.⁵⁹ He suggests peacebuilding as a process of conflict transformation in addition to a goal. He identifies the several sets of actors who are the leaders from grassroots to top level undertaking conflict transformation activities in affected war torn societies. Conflict transformation,

⁵⁶ See M.W.Doyle and N. Sambanis*Building Peace: Challenges and Strategies after Civil War*. (World Bank, 1999.)

⁵⁷ See P.O.Richmond, "UN Peace Operations and the Dilemmas of the Peace Building Consensus." *International Peacekeeping* 11, No. 1 (2007): pp. 83-101.

⁵⁸ R. Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism." *International Security* 22, No. 2 (1997): p.56

⁵⁹ O.Ramsbotham *et al.* (2011) *Op. cit.* p. 235

broadly speaking, entails transformation in multiple levels, tracks, etc., with the ultimate goal of increasing justice, reducing violence and restoration of broken relationship.⁶⁰

Camilla Orjuela suggests the importance of the role of “ordinary people” for peace building . She points out based on her studies on war torn society in Sri Lanka,

“Civilians are so deeply involved in the structures of war. They also need to participate in effort to prevent and end wars.”⁶¹

Gawerc says that peacebuilding for ethnic conflicts must be adopted by local actors, the top, the middle and the grassroots and it cannot be forced from above or imposed by the outside.⁶² Ramsbotham et al. suggest a framework based on four themes, economic–socio, military–security, political–constitutional, and psycho–social and introduce a list of local activist groups from below to the top who may be involved with peacebuilding activities from the grassroots.⁶³ This process can be introduced as peacebuilding from below or the civil society based model.

The conceptual debate on post war peacebuilding was taken over by a new discourse on “state building” in the beginning of the first half of 2000 due to military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

This process was introduced as a post war state building in a *failed state or fragile state*⁶⁴ which refers to the attempt to rebuild self-sustaining institutions of governance capable of delivering the essential public goods required to underpin

⁶⁰ J.P.Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures*.(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University press, 1995) p.23

⁶¹ C. Orjuela, *Civil Society in Civil War: Peace Work and Identity Politics in Sri Lanka*. (Goteborg: Department of Peace and Development Research, 2004.) pp. 18-19

⁶² M.I.Gawerc, "Peace-Building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives." *Peace & Change* 31, no. 4 (2006): 435-78.

⁶³ O.Ramsbotham et al. (2011) *Op.cit.*, p. 234

⁶⁴ In general, the terminology applied to fragile and failed states, conflict and post conflict and governance is often imprecise. See Derick W. Brinkerhoff. “Rebuilding governance in failed states and post–conflict societies: core concepts and cross cutting themes.” *Public Administration and Development*, 25,(2005) 3-14.

perceived legitimacy and what it hoped will eventually become an enduring peace.⁶⁵ However, state building on “failed states” practically is strengthened by the “global war on terror” after the 9/11 incident but theoretically is criticised by scholars who are against peacebuilding led by liberal hegemonic powers.⁶⁶

In the second half in the year 2000’s, a new approach of post war peacebuilding was developed, concerned with emancipation and social justice beyond the state.⁶⁷ Heathershaw introduces the new approach as a justice–emancipator variant equated with a civil–society dominated mode of peacebuilding.⁶⁸ Indeed, this is a revised concerned model of peacebuilding based on civil society which was popularised in 1990’s. As the process of state building and regime change interventions as peacebuilding was criticized by others, the scholars once again pay their attention to civil society, people to people, or peacebuilding-from-below which is based on civil society empowerment led approaches.⁶⁹

1.3.2. Post- War Reconstruction

Post conflict peacebuilding and post war reconstruction have close relationship to each other. They are both aimed at creating sustainable peace in a war torn country. Successful post war reconstruction, it has been seen, is the backbone of post conflict peacebuilding. This also ensures that the society would not relapse into conflict. Definitions of post conflict peacebuilding and that of post war reconstruction are quite often overlapping.

⁶⁵ O.Ramsbotham *et al.*(2011) *Op.cit.*, p.199

⁶⁶ *Ibid* ., p.232

⁶⁷ See P.O. Richmond, "Resistance and the Post Liberal Peace." *Millennium- Journal of International Studies* 38, no. 3 (2010): 665-92. doi:10.1177/0305829810365017, <http://mil.sagepub.com/>.

⁶⁸ See J. Heathershaw, "Unpacking the Liberal Peace: The Dividing and Merging of Peacebuilding Discourses." *Millennium : Journal of International Studies* 6, no. 3 (2008): 597-622.

⁶⁹ O.Ramsbotham *et al.*(2011) *Op.cit.*, p.232

Earlier in the context of post war societies, the term reconstruction often meant physical reconstructions in war affected areas. ‘Reconstruction’, for example, was defined in these terms in the journal *Scientific Monthly* in 1919:

“Reconstruction, in its most limited sense, applies to the reparation of actual damage done by war. This includes the rebuilding of houses, villages and towns which have been destroyed; the replacement of industrial plants and machinery which have been destroyed or carried off; the restoration of mines, railways, canals, roads, woods, orchards and so forth and of the surface of the soil.”⁷⁰

This definition, as one could see, focuses quite exclusively on rebuilding of the physical assets damaged by the war. At the end of World War II, the occupying forces carried out post war reconstruction over Axis powers – installed new governments with democratic constitutions, supported physical and economic reconstruction.⁷¹ The *Marshall plan* at the same time was served to recover the war torn economies in the Western alliance by the USA.⁷² Post war reconstruction was on its way to change its definitional and programmatic content.

With the attention of post conflict peacebuilding in the 1990’s, the concept no longer referred merely to physical reconstruction. Barakat, for example, indicated three major post conflict activities in his idea of post war reconstruction. They are

1. Physical /socio-economic and political – rebuilding infrastructure and essential Government functions
2. Capacity building and institutional strengthening – improving the efficiency and effectiveness of existing institutions

⁷⁰ H.B. Smith, "Reconstruction in Great Britain Following the War." *The Scientific Monthly* 08, no. 4 (1919): p.298. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/7069>> [accessed 01 July 2013]

⁷¹ O. Ramsbotham et al., (2011) *Op.cit.*, p.200. They further say that situation was the origin of liberal interventionism for post war reconstruction.

⁷² B.D.Kunz, "The Marshall Plan Reconsidered : A complex of Motives." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 3 (1997): p.162. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20048105>> [accessed 29 May 2013]

3. Structural - reforming the political, economic, social and security sectors⁷³

This goes to suggest what we have repeatedly indicated that the idea of post conflict reconstruction has been widened by incorporating non-physical dimensions of institutional and capacity building into its ambit.

However, the definition of post war reconstruction and peacebuilding is most often what the scholars have given. They are in the contemporary times quite often been defined by the two most important organisations which also are the most active in the field of post war reconstruction. UN, which has been the most active world agency to engage with post war reconstruction, has been very active through the 1990s. It is at this time its secretary General Boutros-Ghali tried to underline the activities and the sectors which might be involved by the UN in post conflict reconstruction. They were disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring of elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation.⁷⁴

The expansion in the scope of the UN post war reconstruction programmes received further expansion when the post 9/11 War on Terror was entrusted to it by the US decision to invade Iraq and Afghanistan, of course with the UN security council's approval. The state building on 'failed states' or 'fragile states' too seemed to be included in the agenda of post war reconstruction.⁷⁵ This model of post war

⁷³ S. Barakat, *After the Conflict : Reconstruction and Redevelopment in the Aftermath of War*. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005)

⁷⁴ Boutros Boutros Ghali, (1995) *Op. cit.*, p.11

⁷⁵ O.Ramsbotham et al., (2011) *Op.cit.*, p.201.

reconstruction intervention is introduced as “intervention–reconstruction–withdrawal” (IRW) operations. “In each instance,” according to Ramsbotham et al.,

“...the declared aim was to intervene, in most cases in order to aid indigenous efforts to build an enduring post war peace, to assist (re)construction efforts, and then to withdraw”.⁷⁶

The WB, which too is one of the biggest agency in post war reconstruction, has been playing quite an active role in advocating that the post war reconstruction be aimed to not only physical infrastructure but also socio-economic frame work that existed in a country prior to the onset of conflict.⁷⁷ The WB post conflict reconstruction has been based on two objectives:(1) To facilitate the transition to sustainable peace after hostilities have ceased , and (2) To support economic and social development.

It is in accordance to achieve these objectives, thatthe Bank required a successful reconstruction strategy which needed to focus on investments in key productive sectors, good governance, repairing physical infrastructure, rebuilding key social frameworks and normalising financial borrowing arrangements.⁷⁸ In contrast to the UN objectives, the WB post war reconstruction, seems, is more concerned with economic recovery of the war torn countries.

A critical analysis of the definitions and elaboration of activities under post war reconstruction indicate certain common features. The immediate aim of the task of post conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction is to prevent relapse into war and creation of a positive sustainable peace. Hugh Miall, Oliver Ramsbotham and Tom

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p.201

⁷⁷ The World Bank, *Post Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the World Bank*. (Washington D.C: The World Bank, 1998) p.14

⁷⁸ Alpazam Ozerdem,(2007) *Op. cit.*, p.19

Woodhouse propose the term “post-settlement peacebuilding” for post conflict peacebuilding.⁷⁹ They cite Ball’s phrase ,

“...the means through which within the parties hope to resolve the unfinished business of war’ or rather, the means through which they hope to win, albeit no longer by military force”.⁸⁰

According to Miall et al.

“peacebuilding is distinguished from on-going humanitarian and development activities in ‘countries emerging from crisis’ in so far as it has the specific political aims of reducing ‘the risk of resumption of conflict’ and contributing to the creation of ‘condition most conducive of reconciliation, reconstruction and recovery’”.⁸¹

Therefore, there are two tasks of post settlement peacebuilding concerning the relationship between them, which are (a) preventing relapse into war, and (b) creating a self sustaining peace. Hence the post war reconstruction process for sustainable peace is a long term and multi functional project.⁸²

To sum up, though the concept of peacebuilding emerged in the 1960s with the work of Johan Galtung, it is the decades of 1990s and 2000 that came to popularise it. Defined by various scholars, the concept of post conflict peacebuilding has seen refinements as well as expansion. The concept of post conflict reconstruction too has undergone tremendous changes. Many non-physical activities have been included as part of its expanded but genuine activities in war torn societies. Therefore, there has been a search for comprehensive definition in tune with the comprehensively expanding horizon of post war reconstruction.

⁷⁹H. Miall, O.Ramsbotham, andT. Woodhouse, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. 1 st ed. (Malden, MA: Polity press in Association with Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1999.)p.189

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.189

⁸¹ *Ibid.*,p.188

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.189

1.3.3. Earlier Studies on Post-War Reconstruction and Post-war Peacebuilding in Sri Lanka

In the literature of the thematic study, there are only a few that can be traced to the post-war era in Sri Lanka. The following studies focus on some important issues related to peacebuilding during this period. For example, in 2010 Jonathan Goodhand focused on the Sri Lankan government's strategy for winning the hearts and minds of the people of the Eastern province in the immediate post-war period in Sri Lanka.⁸³ The study argued that although Sri Lanka experienced a long running civil war, it is not a failed state but that it had simply enforced a model of military imposed political settlement to ensure the stability and security of the former war zones. Luxshi Vimalaraja and R. Cheran in 2010 explored the role of the Tamil Diaspora in the post-conflict period in Sri Lanka and stated that these groups had actively participated from out of the country to fight for Tamil rights in the post-conflict period.⁸⁴ Soon after the war ended in 2010, Nadeeka and Rodney Arambewela examined in their study what the future plan of action of the government of Sri Lanka should be to build on and consolidate the hard won peace in the post-war scenario.⁸⁵ They identified five important peacebuilding measures such as providing relief, restitution, relocation, reconciliation and political development that would help to address the root causes of the conflict and improve the future prospects of the war affected regions. Kristine Hoglund and Camilla Orjuela examined how the case of Sri Lanka effectively exposes the limitations of the international discourse and

⁸³ J. Goodhand, "Stabilising a Victor's Peace? Humanitarian Action and Reconstruction in Eastern Sri Lanka." *Disasters* 34, no. 3 (2010): 347-67.

⁸⁴ L. Vimalaraja, R. Cheran, "Empowering Diasporas: The Dynamics of Post War Transnational Tamil Politics." *Berghof Occasional Paper No 31* (2010).

⁸⁵ N. Arambewela & Rodney Arambewela, "Post-War Opportunities for Peace in Sri Lanka: An Ongoing Challenge?" *Global Change, Peace and Security* 22, no. 3 (2010): 365-75.

practice of conflict prevention.⁸⁶ In 2011, BavaniFonseka and MarikRaheem explored an important issue- land acquisition by the government in the Northern Province during the post-war period.⁸⁷ However, this paper focuses on the legal aspects of acquisition under the current legal framework in Sri Lanka. In 2012, Hettiarachchi examined the programme of rehabilitation of ex-LTTE cadres by the government that wanted to reintegrate them into society.⁸⁸ This study explains the role played by the programme to convert the minds and ideas of the ex-rebels. In 2013, Indiwari Galagama chose a GS division as a small example, to illustrate how the government should go about the task of reconstruction, rehabilitation, and reintegration in the post-war period in Sri Lanka.⁸⁹

1.4 Problem Statement of the Study

In the conflict and peace literature, civil war endings have been classified into three types as follows: 1) Civil war ending with a ceasefire agreement or a peace agreement followed by negotiations between the conflicting parties, 2) War ending with a military victory by one side, or 3) Armed conflict fizzles out without either a military victory or a settlement, because the parties no longer wish to fight or are unable to continue the fight.⁹⁰ According to Licklider, civil wars that ended by negotiated settlements were more likely to break out again, while those that were ended by military victories were more likely to lead to genocide.⁹¹

⁸⁶ K. Höglund and C. Orjuela, "Winning the Peace: Conflict Prevention after a Victor's Peace in Sri Lanka." *Contemporary Social Science* 6, no. 1 (2011): 19-37.

⁸⁷ B.Fonseka, MirakRaheem. *Land in the Northern Province: Post War Politics, Policy and Practice*. (Colombo: Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2011)

⁸⁸ M.Hettiarachchi, "Sri Lanka Rehabilitation Programme: A New Frontier in Counter Terrorism and Counter Insurgency." *PRISM* 4, no. 2 (2012): 105-21.

⁸⁹ I.K. Galagama, *Reconstruction, Rehabilitation, Reintegration in Post War Sri Lanka: A Case Study of Thankavelayuthapuram GS in Thirukkivil Ds- Ampara District*. (Colombo: Lambert Pub., 2013)

⁹⁰ H.Miallet *et al.*, (1999) *Op. cit.*, p.153

⁹¹ R. Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993." *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 3 (1995): 681-90.